/154 cont./

755 days and can even be drawn out for months, are a mixture of incantations and invocations, accompanied by canticles; massages with spittle mixed with chewed tobacco; sucking of the painful parts of the sick man's body; the application of his empirical knowledge of the medicinal use of plants; and the propitiation of the spirits of sickness and of death -- wanurú -- by means of gifts which the patient or his relatives supply in order to obtain the victorious return of the patient's spirit to his body and with this his definite cure. As soon as he has secured this objective, the shaman calls for the celebration of a feast. /155/

If on arriving to give his services, the shaman can see, by some magic process which he explains, that there is no hope for the sick man, he will withdraw. For the patient there is no other possibility open but to wait for death -- which usually occurs shortly after.

755 782 It is also up to the shaman to decide what sacrifices should be offered to propitiate the adverse spirits when these are preparing a harmful incident for a Guajiro. Generally, this harmful incident implicitly involves the death of the individual who, with the sacrifices and propitiations recommended by the shaman, will counteract the action, canceling it. If the recommendation is not followed, the prediction will be fulfilled. Guajiro tradition narrates among many cases the following: An old female shaman foretold a Pushaina (1)

1. Pushaina: name of a Guajiro clan.

individual that he would die at the hands of a member of his own clan and that a series of bloody events would occur as a consequence of his death. To avoid these happenings she told him he would have to make a sacrifice of several animals and bathe himself with their blood. The suggestion was not followed, and every one of the calamities occurred just as the shaman had forecast.

[16 cont.]
*756 until dawn. For the dance they must kill sufficient goats for all
796 the dancers to eat, accompanying this food with roasted corn. The men and women who would be taking part in the dance ceremony should come painted with annatto [bija], the women could be single or married. Once the dance had finished, at dawn of the second night, the meat of the sacrificed animals was to be piled on a heap of leaves, and the old shaman would come to "shamanize" [piachar] (14) it, spitting her saliva impregnated

14. We have found it necessary to use the verb "shamanize" [piachar] to refer to the ceremonies which the shaman [piache] performs during his cures and other functions. Purists of the language will please forgive us.

with the manilla she was chewing on the meat; she would also "shamanize" the novice. Until this had been done the meat could not be eaten by the guests. Those present could then take the meat so prepared, but they must go in a direction when they walked away to eat it opposite to the direction taken by the shaman when she came to perform her ritual ceremonies over it.
[782] The consumption of this meat by the others would be done in honor of the spirits whom the shaman wanted to propitiate at this time.

Similarly, there is little difference between the external cult of the rite of passage of the second case and the previous one. Once the spirit announced that the initiate knew how to invoke it, a fiesta was organized at its request which lasted for three days. For this celebration they sacrificed 20 sheep and a steer, and they
[273] danced the chicha-maya. In addition, they made the already mentioned distribution of chicha and rum to the guests. During these three days of fiesta, the mother — the shaman in this case — continued to instruct the initiate in all matters relating to her future duties. At dawn on the third day the novice graduated.

*756 Final period of preparation: Let us continue with the first case. After the dance with all the accompanying ceremonial was

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the 787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may 426] come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [782] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere- 787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second room within the main one. None may enter this place without the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch sometimes permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, generally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[533] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman, or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
782 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the oppressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These demands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats, sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; ornaments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times, things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals, near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
*756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[39 cont.]
177 in the direction of civilization, which [40] powerfully attracts
*756 him. We can almost affirm that if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past.

*756 The decadence of this institution can be noted very easily
558 if we look at what Uricoechea says in the introduction to the
177 work already cited: "They always had their shamans, or curers, and diviners to consult and respect. The shamans had their schools in the woods, and they were legislators in addition to being doctors; furthermore, they were the priests and interpreters of observances and beliefs which they, in common with all the inhabitants of America, had." (37) Compare what is

37. Celedón, Rafael. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 20.

said in these paragraphs with all that we have stated, and you will note the enormous decrease in prestige that the shaman has suffered in La Guajira in the space of a few lustrums.

[41] III

Magic and Sacrifice

782 In Guajiro culture we can distinguish four types of sacrifices:

1. Those of a funeral ritual character.
2. Those of a harmful warlike character.
3. Those made to forestall the effects of dreams.
4. Those made to propitiate the protector spirit of the shamans.

[41 cont.]

764 762 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

[767] The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

262 764 763 782 It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews [and nieces, sobrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. — of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this, according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

[765] The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La [843 753] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats, 755 765 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[44 cont.]
411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
724 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
782 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
782 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
593 which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
[278] none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[458] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 683 826 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

●782 751 761 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 761 825 538 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia, Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the belief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

● 782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 813 81 If we take into account the essential characteristics of primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we
782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we
825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the
843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for
845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due
753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if
764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĺta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĺta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [567] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+956 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock — the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[782] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits. 767

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered. 768

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us. 765 171

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it. 764

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people [751] [782] [787] [778] 761 776

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-[776] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till [782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice 787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or [833] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there